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ABSTRACT

The traditional discipline of foreign language teaching is ineffective and in trouble and should be replaced with a new, broader field. The new discipline should lay emphasis on the following: (1) awareness of cultural and linguistic diversity in the United States and Canada as well as abroad, (2) meeting the needs of students from all areas of society, (3) teaching children from the earliest grades on, (4) goal-oriented communicative competence, (5) language instruction embedded in cultural education, and (6) training of teachers in the behavioral sciences. (JB)

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An Alternative to the Foreign Language Teaching Profession*
Lektos: Interdisciplinary Working Papers in Language Sciences, Vol. 1, No. 2.

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There are undeniable signs of trouble of some sort in the foreign language teaching profession. Those of us outside the profession are only sensitive to some of the signs, but even so, in our research in academic and school settings we do encounter widespread resentment among students and especially among parents towards the prospects of having their children subjected to standard programs of foreign language instruction, even the most up-to-date ones. Clearly, they want something else, or something more, or something with a totally different conception. From those within your profession, I have learned of other signs, such as a serious fall away of enrollments and interest in FL instruction which apparently has worked its way up to the university level where it now becomes difficult for FL departments to justify the expenses of staffing, laboratories and so forth when these departments typically cater mainly to relatively small numbers of students taking introductory or intermediate courses.

In the past year I have been asked by several professional societies of FL teachers to discuss with them the significance of these symptoms of disinterest. I don't pretend to have any simple interpretations to offer, but I am deeply concerned about the apparent plight of the profession and the future of its dedicated members. Through discussions with FL teachers, however, I have formed some opinions about the purposes of the FL teaching profession and what appear to be its shortcomings. It is these opinions that form the basis of this paper and I present them in the spirit of an exchange of ideas and with the hope that in collaboration we can make improvements.

Rather than suggest a series of superficial changes in methods or styles of teaching FLs, I want to focus instead on what seems to me to be the working assumptions of the profession, what it has tried to do in the past, and what it might become in the future. What develops from all this is a suggestion for an alternative to the FL teaching profession, that is, a plan--sketchy as it is at this stage--for a totally new profession that will have more chances of satisfying a widespread and natural interest in foreign peoples and their languages. I haven't come up with a name for this proposed new field, but perhaps the reader will be able to offer suggestions from what follows.

Part of the trouble, it seems to me, lies in the permanence and inviolability of a profession's basic structure as it is passed on from

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one generation of teachers to the next. Today's difficulties may have been built in to the profession like a time capsule as it passed through generations of teachers and students. This is not to say that the times have necessarily changed so much, but rather that inconsistencies may have been built into the structure from the start and it took time for us to recognize them as such. For example, one aim of the FL profession in American, from its start, has been to urge students to turn their gaze to continents across the oceans where, the argument goes, cultural and linguistic treasures can be experienced vicariously through the education process. In other words, American students were asked to direct their attention to the languages spoken by the people of Greece, Rome, Germany, France, Spain, China and so forth while at home Greeks, Italians, French, Chinese and most immigrant groups were too often seen in the menial roles of apple salesmen, gardeners, cooks, launderers and the like. Thus, it must be difficult nowadays, as in the past, for the perceptive student to believe in the value of the promised treasure or to be all that motivated to learn about the homelands these poor people left.

In the second place the FL profession in America has been geared traditionally to a small student elite, i.e., those taking college preparatory programs, but more recently (and possibly because Americans distrust elites of any sort) FL training has come to be offered to more varied groups of students until now the student audience represents all walks of life. One wonders just how relevant these foreign treasures are to today's broad range of FL students, many of whom have much more local concerns.

In the third place, there were decisions made early in the history of the FL profession in America that have turned out to be inconsistencies. One decision was to pitch FL training to high school and college-age students and another was to decide that three or four years of academic training was sufficient to attain some not clearly defined level of competence. Apparently it was felt that a certain level of maturity was required for an appreciation of FL training, but with the appreciate age set at the teen level or beyond, students and their parents are likely to form the impression that schools are wasting time, that the language learning process is being unnaturally stretched out. The teenager or young adult is also particularly likely to draw the conclusion that learning a foreign language is a mammoth task, and, understandably, he may resent the whole procedure as an artificial interpolation that delays him from getting to the real treasures. With time, these disillusioned young people become parents and, through empathy with their own children, come to resent their having to go through the "same old" stretched-out learning process.

Coupled with the matter of age of students was the decision that three years of high school instruction, plus a year or so at college, where applicable, constituted an adequate training period. The trouble here was that no criteria were provided to evaluate just what could be learned in the high school or high school plus college FL programs or what level of competence might be expected with this amount of academic training given in the post-adolescent years. This lack of clarity of achievement goals would affect the peace of mind of both the earnest teacher and the earnest student.

Using these examples of shortcomings as reference points, we can start to sketch in certain likely features of a viable alternative. In the first place, it seems that educators in the FL fields should re-set their sights by shifting from cultural settings abroad to the cultural mosaic at home. The assumption here is that one can count on American students to be more interested in their own life space and the fascinating challenges it present than in foreign nations that have produced over the years large numbers of immigrants. There is a logic too in the notion that in large measure America is a nation comprised of those who came from abroad, that this land has welcomed foreigners to come and to bring the cultural and linguistic treasures with them. Now, it can be argued, we have and are still building up one of the richest human treasuries in the world, and it should not be difficult to recruit a widespread interest among students in this critical feature of their own land.

There are certain recent developments in the American society which can, I feel, facilitate the resetting of sights from abroad to home. One is a new perspective, generated it seems by the critical self analysis of collegiate activists in the 1960's, on what it means to be American or Canadian. It was collegiates (black and white) who demanded national respect for minority groups of every variety including Afro-American, Spanish speaking Americans and American-Indians. These young people argued that we as a nation have no moral right to wash out distinctive traditions of any ethnic group since the ways of life of these peoples turn out to be at least as admirable as the "American" way of life.

A related development takes the form of a national interest in and willingness to help minority groups which manifests itself in new educational laws that provide extensive schooling in Spanish for Spanish-speaking Americans and in the Bilingual Education Act. Thus, today's young people in America may have a new perspective on ethnic groups in the sense that they are seen less as poor immigrants and more as integral parts of the American cultural mosaic. If they are found to be disproportionately in menial roles then the whole system must be unfair. Any alternative profession would have to capitalize on these healthy perspectives, I feel.

To be viable, an alternative profession would also have to reconsider the question of an appropriate age of appreciation for learning about foreign peoples and their languages. It is difficult to pinpoint the optimum age level, but my calculated hunch is that it starts long before the teens. Our own recent research experience has been with kindergarten-age children, and it is amazing to see what can happen in foreign-language and foreign-people training at that age level (see Lambert & Tucker, 1972). The "home-school language switch" program--a program of immersion in the foreign language starting at kindergarten with only a small parcel of time alloted to training about the home language--convinces me that age 5 is certainly within the appreciate age range. We have found, for instance, that after 4 or 5 years in such a program youngsters develop a deep understanding and appreciation of a new cultural group, become amazingly skilled in a new language, and their skill in the home language shows no signs of retardation. In fact, it is strengthened in many respects.

One feature of this type of program is relevant for those planning an alternative. The home-school switch approach brings children into contact with a native speaker of the foreign language who as a teacher uses that language only in instruction in order to develop communicative competence and to make sure the children develop standard amounts of competence in the subject matters taught. It is then, a person-to-person approach that makes the language learning process incidental to the communication process and the learning of content.

This example of the home-school switch approach also suggests a quite different guideline in deciding on the amount of time to be alloted to training in or via the FL. A fundamentally new educational issue is introduced in this example, for instead of estimating how many years of schooling should be provided in order to develop some unspecified degree of achievement in the FL, the languages in schools and universities might be shifted to training centers where native speakers of the languages could be financed by state and federal funds that would be available if language teaching were taken out of publicly financed schools and universities.

Creating a new profession of specialists in people and language study would require substantive changes in teacher training and preparation in the human or behavioral sciences, i.e., anthropology, political science, sociology, social-psychology, psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics. The practitioner of this new profession, whether in public schools or universities, would become a new member of the behavioral scientist team, an association that could be mutually valuable because behavioral scientists have traditionally viewed language as an integral part of their disciplines, and in their work they have learned well how to make language learning incidental to learning about other peoples.

Let me illustrate what this new type of practitioner would be like by using some examples of people from the FL teaching profession who in their own work have shown remarkable ingenuity along the suggested lines. Then we can examine an example or two of others in the behavioral sciences whose own research interests naturally reach out toward the proposed profession. In this way we can get some type of fix on this new terrain I'm trying to locate. These examples, however, cover discrete parts of the terrain, and the task of the actual practitioner of the new profession would be to synthesize and integrate the various parts towards the educational goals of training young people in the cultures and languages of other peoples. In addition, the practitioner would become a contributor and an extender of the field itself.

Example 1. Sister Ruth Jonas and Mr. Stanley Thom recently conducted a five-year project designed to teach French in the elementary grades by means of a "twinned classroom" approach (Jonas, 1972). In this instance, twinning meant matching up classrooms of American children with comparable age groups in France or in French-speaking Africa. Their interesting idea was to teach children about youngsters their own age who live in quite different cultural settings, including the daily routines of pupils in school, of sons and daughters at home, and of youngsters at play. Learning to communicate with the other group involved incidental instruction in the other language as well as translations of materials sent from one group to the other. The materials included color slides of typical events in the

home country and regular exchanges of cassettes of recorded questions, newsy letters or discussions of earlier interchanges.

Their plan called for one of them, Sister Ruth Jonas, to be situated for several years first in France and later in Africa in order to initiate the hook-up and to help select appropriate topics (some forming sharp contrasts, others remarkably similar home-like episodes) to be introduced into the pictorial and taped materials which were to be sent back to Ohio. Stanley Thom served the similar function from the States. These materials, however, are now available for others who might want to try the approach without the need of a foreign-based collaborator (Jonas, 1972). But the major point is that these children on both sides of the globe have been introduced to foreign people who turn out to be very much like themselves basically although functioning in cultural contexts that are intriguingly different. It is the language of these interesting peoples from some other land that becomes worth knowing about because the children are interested in and inquisitive about the other group as individuals worth communicating with.

Example 2. Madeleine Cooke, now at the University of Akron, saw how important students' attitudes are in the foreign language learning process. Although by conventional standards she was an outstanding FL teacher, she was prompted nonetheless to develop a new domain of expertise which led ultimately to a doctorate in Psychology (Cooke, 1969; 1973) but this seems to be only another stage in a still-evolving process for Miss Cooke. Her main theme is that foreign language teachers have as much responsibility for fostering favorable attitudes toward the foreign group in question as for teaching the language. But developing favorable attitudes, she found, is a very complex affair. She has now worked up a number of novel approaches designed to enhance American students' attitudes toward Spanish people. The basic notion is to develop in students a sensitivity to cultural contrasts and cultural similarities, much as anthropological training would do. The readings she suggests for teachers and students is of an entirely different nature from the conventional "culture" element in FL courses. Instead it builds an anthropological or sociological basis for understanding one's own culture in relation to the foreign one, not a stuffy list in any sense, but one that sets the proper stage for a natural form of language acquisition.

Example 3. Howard Lee Nostrand has had a profound influence on the FL teaching profession as a teacher, departmental chairman and analyst of the changes that have taken place in the profession over a span of years. He has always been alert to and ready to compliment new trends, when merited, but he is nonetheless just as sensitive to phoney issues and shortcomings. Howard is an excellent example of one of the best in the profession who took it upon himself to develop a whole new type of competency because he believed the FL teaching profession had neglected the personal and the interpersonal element of the cultures involved. Again this was no superficial venture, but a full-fledged one that brought him into a student-teacher relationship with some of the most demanding of the behavioral scientists, for example, the anthropologist, Morris Opler, and the sociologist, Talcott Parson. What is characteristic is that as he developed this new facet of competence, he seems never to have lost sight of how anthropology and the study of human values could be applied in the classroom.

Nostrand has challenged the FL teaching profession with his discussion of the "sociocultural contexts" of languages and literatures (Nostrand, 1966). He argued that the profession has neglected this matter and in doing so has short-changed students who both want and need to develop skills in cross-cultural communication and cross-cultural understanding--probably the most critical form of education we could provide for today's world. Learning a language per se is not enough, nor is learning another group's literature or its history, for none of these can really be understood without a deep understanding of the cultural values and the social system of the people involved. Making a pass at teaching about a foreign people or simply adding a "cultural" component to a standard course is not enough either since students want and will only be satisfied with an accurate and complete description of the value systems that characterize the people in question.

The problem here is that one can't just borrow from the behavioral scientists. Thus Howard could not depend on a Morris Opler to supply him with a set of readings on, say, the value systems of the French or a comparison of French and American value systems. Instead, the inquisitive FL teacher had to train himself in the anthropological field and to learn about the ways in which cultural themes are discovered by trained ethnographers. Note here that Nostrand and Cooke have from quite independent starting points arrived at a very similar route of exploration.

The work started by Nostrand has really only just begun, but those students who have come in contact with what has been started and the people who are digging away at cultural values are excited about the progress being made. For example, the working paper by Nostrand, Creore and Leiner (1965) on the major themes of contemporary French civilization forces one to stop and think: Are these the basic features of that civilization? How could one probe more deeply into the themes uncovered so far? Are these distinctively French characteristics or are they universals? Is it perhaps only the ordering in a hierarchy of values that makes one system of values French and another American?

Perhaps this may sound like a peculair limb for the FL teacher to be out on, but my point is that it is on branches of this sort that the real action is likely to be for both the teacher and student interested in foreign peoples and their languages or, closer to home, hyphenated-Americans and their value systems and their use of language.

Example 4. The traffic is getting heavy on this people-study branch of the educational tree. Laurence Wylie is another contributor to the action. I first heard of him when he was a teacher of French at Haverford College, a man who generated a great deal of respect and admiration from those students who were seriously interested in French. Then in the early 50's he received an SSRC Area Research Training Fellowship and went with his family to a remote village in the southeast of France. Next thing I heard was that he was sending monthly reports back to the SSRC office in New York about his goings on in his village in the Vaucluse, and a friend in SSRC thought I might like to read them. These reports were blockbusters and many of us knew in advance that Wylie had something special going on and that he told about it in a splendid way.

What the Wylie family did was simply to move in and live in a French community for a little over a year. What came out was a fascinating book

(Wylie, 1957) about "life in a French village told in terms of the people living today" in that commune. What he tells is a "human, actual and specific" story of how "everyday details and incidents fit together in a general way of life." But to describe accurately or at least systematically another people's way of life is a tremendously demanding task. In his introduction, Wylie (a French teacher, mind you) mentions his thanks to specialists like Levi-Strauss, Gorer, Hallowell and Klineberg, that is, to some of the best thinkers in anthropology, sociology and social psychology who helped him to observe and interpret his experience amont the French. The final work is, in my mind, a type of masterpiece because it portrays so well what many of us know about the French way of life, but can't describe. It is an excellent ethnographic study that captures the attention of ethnographer, French specialist, simple tourist or student. What emerges is a description of the way of life which is indispensable for anyone willing to learn about the French or their language, and the work would likely entice many to become willing to do so. Actually, though, it really is one man's view of that way of life and the perceptive student who gets into it would come to realize that "ways of life" are difficult to comprehend and that several observers being as systematic as possible would end up each with his own unique view. It is the realization of this variance in perception that is closest to truth, and is in the long run the only approach appreciated by the serious student. Most important, though, the student learns that nothing of value comes from a non-systematic overview of a people's way of life.

Wylie's wandering beyond the conventional boundaries of the FL teaching profession led him to Harvard where he is doing more of the same type exploration but now as a professor of International Studies. One can see the impact in a recent book on Chanzeau, an in depth study of a village in Catholic Vendée (Wylie, et al., 1966). In this case, the book is edited by Wylie but written by some dozen or so Harvard undergraduates who in a Harvard-based seminar spent a year or so in Vendée, some delving into the village's past, with historical reports going back hundreds of years, some flying over the terrain to make aerial maps, all living in homes with families, some discussing schools and school administration with local authorities, some watching the treatment and visits of people in hospitals, in churches in local cafes and so forth. Privileged as they were to have such an opportunity, these students nonetheless demonstrate that they have been well trained in the ethnologist's and social-psychologist's trades, and this training has helped them to become specialists in the French people and their language. In time many of them will pass on the Wylie-based approach to their own students. The procedure itself could easily be adapted for high school or grade school students and its focus could be extended to hyphenated Americans and their uses of the languages in question as well as ocvering the old countries these new Americans represent.

The examples covered so far help us define the structure of a new, alternative field because in each case people within the traditional FL teaching discipline have left the conventional boundaries of the field in one manner or another and developed a totally new set of competencies in and around what I have referred to earlier as "people study". At the same

time as these explorations have taken place within the FL teaching profession, others whose main concern is the more formal study of peoples have made their own explorations, some of which bear closely on the same alternative field. Let me give an example of two of these complementary explorations made by behavioral scientists.

Example 5. Charles Osgood is an eminent American psychologist who was perhaps the first to see the important interplay that exists among psychology, linguistics and cultural anthropology. He is best known for his work on the measurement of meaning, especially connotative or affective meaning (Osgood, et al., 1957; Osgood, 1964). His early work explored the structure of affective meaning systems of American respondents, leading to the interesting conclusion that three major dimensions--an evaluative (good-bad), a potency (strong-weak), and an activity dimension (active-passive)--were sufficient to describe the basic features of affective meaning systems of English-speaking Americans. Much psychological research has spun off from Osgood's earlier studies (see Snider & Osgood, 1969) and his measurement procedures have been useful to linguists trying to understand meaning. There were few signs, however, that the FL teaching profession had come in contact with these ideas.

Osgood then wondered whether the English-language based meaning structure he had uncovered had any correspondence with the affective meaning systems of other language groups. This was an important question, for if each language system was unique there would be no way in which comparisons of meanings across languages could take place, nor could one rely on translation or glossing since the dimensions of meaning in general would not correspond. This led him to apply a common procedure to a large number of language communities around the world in order to test the notion that "regardless of language and culture, human beings utilize the same qualifying (descriptive) framework in allocating the meanings of concepts" (Osgood, 1967; 1970). What is fascinating is that this hypothesis was verified in his cross-cultural research, permitting him to start developing a set of semantically comparable instruments to measure how various language groups think about particular translation-equivalent concepts. His research group now is producing a cross-linguistic Atlas of Affective Meanings.

Then Osgood took another giant step by asking what might be common across cultures with regard to interpersonal behavior (Osgood, 1970). He knew of course that there would be little in common in the overt expression of interpersonal intentions or in the appropriateness of intentions in social interaction. Thus, if we consider the intention "to help", each culture may have its own way of expressing helpfulness and the appropriate settings for being helpful, but perhaps all cultures work with a common understanding of what helping means. In fact, if there were not clear evidence that the dimensional structure of the meaning of helping was common, then we could never talk sensibly about culturally different expressions of helpfulness. This is Osgood's current task: to determine whether there are such universals regardless of culture and language, and his preliminary work on the topic is exciting (Osgood, 1970). For example, he is finding that American respondents consider it permissible to use the "appropriately" with a large number of interpersonal verbs, such as to

plead with someone appropriately, corrupt appropriately, attack appropriately, defy appropriately, console appropriately and so forth. Japanese respondents on the other hand consider such usages as completely anomalous; thus for them one cannot defy, corrupt or console "appropriately".

This line of work should be exciting for any student or teacher seriously interested in people's ways of life and their languages, and since the approach can be adapted easily for any ethnic or linguistic group, it could be particularly valuable in research on the value systems of America's diverse ethnolinguistic population.

Example 6. Nancy Moore and I have been exploring another facet of meaning systems which appears to play an important role in describing and understanding another group's train of thought (see Lambert & Moore, 1966). Somewhat different from Osgood's approach, we have concentrated on "associative meaning networks," that is, clusters of concepts that are interrelated in the thinking of members of a particular ethnic or linguistic group. Our work is based on free associations, hence the term "associative." We collect free associations from large numbers of respondents who are chosen as representative of a particular linguistic or cultural group. We ask each respondent to give us the first word that comes to mind as he thinks about a given concept. For instance, we present the word TABLE and collect the first-word associates of a large number of respondents. For English-speaking Americans, the chances are great that the common associations will be chair, wood, leg or some such cluster. When the associations of large numbers of respondents are compiled for a large number of stimulus concepts, norms of associations can be developed for various linguistic groups. Jenkins and Russell (1960) have such norms for speakers of American English; Rosenzweig (1961) has norms for French, Italian and other European languages; and Lambert and Moore (1966) have norms for English and French speaking Canadians. But here's where the association business gets interesting: when we collect associates from comparable groups of respondents in different linguistic communities, we typically have a surprisingly small amount of agreement, generally less than 50 percent according to Rosenzweig (1961) who worked with the norms developed for the standard European languages in comparison with American English norms. Thus, the French in France are likely to have their own associational clusters for a concept like TABLE with say, manger, (to eat), cuisine (kitchen) as components along with chaise (chair) and bois (wood).

Because most of us are as interested in group dissimilarities of associational content as in the similarities, it is necessary to explain briefly how Nancy Moore and I interpret associational responses. We view them as particular connotative meaning networks, parts of which may be activated whenever their appropriate stimulus words are either decoded or are about to be encoded. The networks not only convey emotional connotations but also direct the train of thought as particular stimulus words are encountered. This view is similar to that of Carroll (1964) who interprets word-association responses as "some part of an assemblage of mediating processes" reflecting "the variety of experiences represented in a concept". The present view is also basically related to Deese's (1962) notion of "associative meaning". Deese noted that two words often do not elicit one another as associational responses yet they do have a

great many associations in common. For example, samples of undergraduates gave the associations note, song, sound, noise, music, and orchestra to both PIANO and SYMPHONY. Such words, he argues, have much associative meaning in common and are thus linked within some general concept.

In our own research with monolinguals and bilinguals in Montreal we have found that the same or translated equivalent stimulus words may have the same or different associational meanings for different groups; however, when the associational systems are discordant, the social communication may be disrupted. For example, the English-Canadian and Bilinguals-in-English gave the primary response God to the stimulus word BIBLE whereas the French-Canadians and the Bilinguals-in-French gave livre (book) as their primary response. In communication, the two monolingual groups could easily miss the full significance of one another's messages because such associational discordances color the meaning and shunt the line of associations off on quite different routes. In this example, the bilinguals would likely transmit the discrepancy with fidelity from one monolingual group to another, switching from one associational network to another as the languages changed. The discordance would accumulate when sequences of ideas, as in sentences, are transmitted socially. For instance, one might want to relate the concepts CHILD, SICKNESS, and DOCTOR. The primary associates to these words are: mother, health, and nurse for our English-Canadian subjects and baby, hospital, sickness for the French-Canadians. If bilinguals are asked to transmit this message, additional distortion is likely since the primary associates are mother, bed, sick for the Bilinguals-in-English and baby, bed, sickness for the Bilinguals-in-French.

It would be easy anough, now, to develop a whole series of associative clusters, including, say, the three most popular responses. Then students learning another language could be given vocabulary lists with glosses in the other language, but with the interesting addition of two sets of associative clusters, one for their own language and the other for the target language. Thus, an entry might be: Table (chair, wood, leg) = La table (manger, chaise, cuisine). Contrasts and similarities of this sort would not only be interesting in their own right, but they might provide a foundation for more sensitivity and understanding of the groups whose way of life and language are to be mastered (see, for example, d'Anglejan & Tucker, 1973).

Example 7. The final illustration comes from the work of Harry Triandis and his colleagues who, from the vantage point of social psychology, are providing some tremendously interesting and useful insights into the ways of life of foreign peoples. Their central concept is "subjective culture" meaning a people's way of perceiving their own social environment (see Triandis, et.al., 1972) and as we briefly describe this notion, note how it complements the interests of Jonas, Nostrand, Cooke, and Wylie.

Triandis and his colleagues are interested basically in the similarities and differences among cultural groups in their manners of categorizing people and events in their social environments, the patterning of categories each group develops, the ways they evaluate people and events they categorize, the ways they behave towards categorized peoples, and what they expect from such people. In other words, they want to study

in a very systematic way various cultural groups' values and norms of behaving. Their techniques are procedurally similar to Osgood's but they are extended further into the domain of behavioral intentions and norms than are Osgood's. So far, their work has shown that there are substantial differences among cultural groups in the ways social environments are categorized. Modes of categorization are inferred from the reactions that samples of respondents give to typical episodes presented to them for consideration. For instance, reactions to persons of dark skin are predictable for certain subgroups of American subjects (who endorse views such as "I would if I could exclude them from my neighborhood"). Inclusion of a person in a given category (such as the category Nordic, Mediterranean or Negro) depends on characteristics of the stimulus persons considered. But particular criterial attributes (e.g., skin color) are far more important than others in the categorization process. People in one culture may use criterial attributes in different ways from people in another culture. They have also found that the content of categories is largely culturally determined and is influenced a great deal by the language system employed by members of a particular culture.

The patterning of categories is also determined in part by cultural background. One cultural group might display strong relationships among categories (for instance the category Negro could be closely related to the category musical) while another cultural group would use a quite different patterning. These clusterings are the basis of stereotypes, and stereotyping turns out to be an oversimplified way of reducing the complexities of one's social environment by providing a certain amount of predictability to environmental events. The insidious force of stereotypes becomes apparent when analyses are made of the evaluations people give to categorized subgroups. Thus, some people see Negroes as "good", "powerful", and "active" while others see them as "bad", "powerful", and "active", making for totally different overall conceptions.

By way of illustrating the analysis of subjective culture, consider the demands placed on both partners of a two-person social system when each partner represents a contrasting cultural background. Here we will make the foreman American and the laborer Greek, an example provided in one of Triandis' monographs (Triandis et al., 1968). First, there are important differences between the likely behavior of the foreman (his "probably enacted role") and the workman's expectation of how a foreman should behave and how intimate he should be with workers. The Greek "will expect the

> American foreman to show much more personal interest and even pry into his personal affairs, while the American's behavior will fall seriously short of this expectation. Thus, the American will appear cold and aloof. The Triandis and Vassiliou (1967) data of stereotypes of Americans working with Greeks and Greeks working with Americans are entirely consistent with this analysis. Furthermore, the Greek's probably enacted role...will differ from the American's expectations of what a laborer should do...on both the affect and intimacy dimensions. The Greek will behave in ways which are more hostile and

> more formal than what the American expects of him. This will disturb the American who is likely to react by behaving in an even more cold and formal manner, and the Greek is likely to shift his behavior even further toward formality and hostility...." (Triandis et al., 1968, p. 41)

This technique of analysis is applicable to all types of role relationships. The contrast of the American and Greek views of fathers and husbands, for example, are intriguing. Triandis examines what is considered appropriate, permissible, and inappropriate in these forms of social interaction. From large-scale investigations, he finds that for Americans it is appropriate to direct, teach and inspect the work of a daughter, it is permissible to depend upon and ask the help of a daughter, but it is inappripriate to fear, laugh at, or fight with a daughter. In Greece, it is appropriate for fathers to take care of, love, and advise daughters, it is permissible to ask them for advice and help, and it is inappropriate to consider them as inferior or to ignore them. Note that different categories of relations emerge in each setting and that their appropriateness varies.

In the case of husband-wife relationships, Greek husbands are apparently expected to advise, take care of and be indignant toward wives and it is permissible to scold and castigate them. There is no such pattern emerging in the American data on husband-wife relationships. (see Triandis, H. C. & Triandis, P. F., 1969).

Conclusions

The purpose of these examples has been to describe the likely content of the proposed field of specialization, call it "people study", and to indicate the types of expertise or competencies that practitioners of the field would have to develop. As I see it, the field is a developing one that has spontaneously attracted the interests of traditional FL teachers who, it seems to me, have come to see a new field as the necessary starting point for the training of language skills. It also is a developing field for behavioral scientists who, with their more technical preparation, are helping to shape it. It is this overlapping of interest, from within and without the FL teaching profession, in what is seen as a more fundamental field of knowledge and inquiry that has caught my fancy, and I would like to have the behavioral and linguistic approaches welded into a powerful new academic domain.

To sum up, I have tried here to suggest a more viable new field of endeavor for those interested in the diversity of the human condition, including language study. The suggestion comes from my attempts to understand why there is a widespread disinterest in conventional programs of teaching foreign languages, and an alternative field of inquiry and knowledge is proposed. Building on certain shortcomings of the traditional FL teaching profession, the proposal takes this form:

1) The new field should set its sights on cultural and linguistic diversity at home, for example on the hyphenated American, rather than, or in addition to, keeping in focus peoples and language in far away countries.

2) The new field should be designed for a broader base of students representing all walks of life and not exclusively for a college-oriented elite.

3) The new field should be geared for children from the earliest grades on.

4. The new field should provide a high degree of competence in the associated foreign languages, and well-defined objectives, such as the attainment of functional bilinguality, literary as well as audio-lingual, should be clearly established.

5) The new field should make the learning of languages incidental to learning about peoples and ways of life, even to the extent of creating community centers for language learning, quite independent of academic institutions, along the lines of Goethe Houses, where students of all ages and of all ethno-linguistic backgrounds could develop linguistic skills in any of various languages, English included. The assumption is that the study of peoples and ways of life is the appropriate foundation for learning that group's language, literature and history, and that language teaching should become a secondary aim of the practitioners of the new field.

6) Finally, the practitioners in the new field should become fully trained in the behavioral sciences so that they can have a deeper base for learning and teaching about people's ways of life, language included.

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